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ABSTRACT

The field of social studies education began as a curriculum reform 75 years ago and evolved into an educational movement that responds to local, national and international citizenship requirements of people and nations around the world. Current interests in social studies include a return to integrated content and future studies, which reflect global, interculture, comparative and interdisciplinary studies interests. The next 20 years may feature a social studies approach that aims at a universal global approach with less provincial study of man and his past, present, and future. The future, assuming all the cycles and patterns of social studies development continue, should yield what the world desperately needs, a citizen enquirer. The document is divided into eight sections: (1) a brief history of the social studies movement; (2) social studies: the early years 1920-1950; (3) new social studies reform; (4) the social studies approach adapted as a world movement; (5) African social studies; (6) the "new" new social studies; (7) the new social reforms in Kenya; and (8) beyond the new social reforms: the future. Special attention throughout the paper is devoted to developing African nations, particularly Kenya. (APG)

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SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION FROM NATION BUILDING TO GLOBAL CITIZEN

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SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION: FROM NATION BUILDING TO GLOBAL CITIZEN

The field of social studies education began as a curriculum reform seventy-five years ago. As any developing reform social studies continues to be redefined, clarified, modified, and adapted to the social forces that call it into creation in each of countries where this approach to citizenship education has been adopted. That reform movement has evolved through a series of cycles, traditions, and tends to follow patterns of educational reform, that if understood, can yield educated guesses, if not accurate predictions, about future developments in Kenya and throughout the world.

Social studies education is changing, evolving as a field of study, and whatever else can be said, the field is much different now that it was twenty-five, fifty or seventy-five years ago. The goal for which social studies was originally conceived has remained the same--citizenship education, but the objectives and curriculum that have been suggested as the best way to accomplish the goal have changed through a steady process of clarification and redefinition. There is no "the one" social studies curriculum, but rather the field should be conceived as an educational movement that responds to the local,national, and international citizenship requirements of people and nations around the world.

1. Brief History of Social Studies Movement

We shall not attempt here to trace in detail the history of the social studies movement from its beginnings some seventy-five years ago, in consequance the cycles and patterns that the movement has followed will not emerge as clearly as the author would wish.

The choice was made to concentrate specific historical perspective on contemporary cycles and patterns, generalizing from that perspective about the future. In short, any discussion of the future of the movement requires a context, a review of past trends, cycles, and patterns from which the field of social studies education has developed.

A social studies approach to citizenship education was first conceived and developed by educators in America soon after the beginning of the twentieth century. Social Studies was always thought to be a general curriculum spread through all of the formal education of students.

In the beginning social studies was created as a response to a set of persistent social, political, and economic problems that beset the United States at the turn of the century. Before the industrial revolution America was essentially rural. Citizens drew water from their own wells, graded their own roads, at time administered their own justice, built their schoolhouses, supplied most of their own food, and harvested their own crops, all with the aid of an independent large family or community who did the patching, hauling and gathering.

At this time before the turn of the century and before urbanization, in Kenya not unlike other rural societies, "the whole educational approach aimed at producing a better member of society". The 'traditional or pre-colonial education was meant to shape a good society member who could enjoy the society's best social, economic, and political achievements. In other words, unlike today, education was not individual academic achievement, but a communal achievement.' In Kenya the traditional African society came first and not the individual. (Kit on Kenya, 1975, p. 100). With industrialization rural, dependent societies were

converted to urban individualistic, interdependent societies, a social phonomenia which Kenya is now facing, and the colonial powers faced some 70 years ago.

Simply put, when people moved next to each other in urban settings, they were required by this new environment to change their ways. The quality of water, the condition of the streets, the generating of electrical power, the collection of garbage, the disposal of waste, the safety of the community all depended upon co-operative problem-solving and community decision-making with neighbours who were not only strangers, but racially and ethnically different.

In the early twentieth century some social scientists, and social workers, among others, thought that a school curriculum ought to be devised that would educate all of the children about how to manage their urban interdependence. After all some reasoned, the school is the only place in the community where all the children were at one time to be educated. The solution to social problems should not be left to chance, nor should learning the process of making decisions in a democratic society be left to the precinct and ward politicians. The general education curriculum that was to deal with questions of the quality of one's life-questions which required a decision-making process-came to be called social studies. The practice of decision-making skills, in part, determined one's quality of life. In other words, living an effective life meant making effective decisions.

Some educators took the position that the study of one's quality of life ought to be a continuous part of the school curriculum, that the subject matter taught in the curriculum should be selected and integrated such that students were identifying persistent social problems that needed careful

consideration throughout a lifetime. The content was to be provided by the social sciences, humanities, and history. The curriculum, however, should focus on the skills that might help a citizen function in a democratic society and help build a nation. The scope and sequence of that curriculum was not only to emphasize social problems, skills, and decision-making, but was to be developmental. That is, the training of a citizen might be achieved in a social studies program that consistently developed sophistication in rational thought from one grade to the next. (Barr, Barth ,Shermis 1977).

In summary, social studies was founded on a vision of an interdependent, democratic, and problem-laden, crisis society that required some systematic rational thought that would be provided by general educational training in the skill of decision-making. It is clear that some critics and supporters have never conceived of social studies as a response to social conditions at the turn of the century, and therefore, could never appreciate the purpose for which the field was created. In consequence, those who oppose the idea of social studies continue to promote a separate subject approach believing that good citizenship can be achieved indirectly through the study of social science and history disciplines.

Among those who prepared the way for social studies at the turn of the century was John Dewey who wrote (1916, p. 101).

> The devotion of democracy to education is a familiar fact. The superficial explanation is that a government resting upon popular sufferage cannot be successful unless those who elect and who obey their governors are educated..... . But there is a deeper explanation. A democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience.

If one were to take Dewey's thoughts that identify a democracy as a "mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated living," and then apply them to the school curriculum in 1900, what part of that curriculum could one have identified? Of course, there were no organized curriculum programmes to promote the form of democracy Dewey was suggesting. A field had to be created. So it was that social studies, in fact, became one response to Dewey's vision of a reflective, enquiring, problem-solving, decision-making citizen who could participate in the political process. A citizen, if you wish, who could participate in associated living and communicate with others about their personal/social interests and needs.

Others like Dewey who prepared the way were part of the American Progressive Movement.

> ....progressive education [according to Cremin] began as part of vast humanitarian effort to apply the promise of American life - the ideal of government by, of, and for the people - to the puzzling new urban-industrial civilization that came into being during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The word progressive provides the clue to what it really was: the educational phase of American Progressivism writ large. In effect, progressive education began as Progressivism in education: a many-sided effort to use the schools to improve the lives of individuals. (Cremin, 1964, p.viii).

In brief, the traditional institutions of community, tribe and family at the turn of the century were losing their influence over the culture and value which supported a traditional sense of citizenship. Educators sought a deliberate education that would prepare citizens for the pressures of urbanization and industrialization. This new deliberate education which was called social studies would assume the functions of the traditional institutions by offering a consistent program of citizenship education. In other words, social studies was viewed as a curriculum area that could assume greater

responsibility for citizenship education as the various institutions and agencies within the community became less effective in transmitting their particular set of values.

As Cremin suggests above, there was a many-sided effort to use the schools to improve the lives of individuals, and social studies was part of the effort. But then, the notion that education should improve the lives of individuals by providing a preparation for living had been a central theme in education for a century. However grand the notion of an education to improve lives may be, it gives little guide as to precise educational practice, for there are many ways one might prepare for life. A notion of improved living does not suggest which of the possible ways one should choose.

An important clue as to what some of the founders of the social studies were considering as appropriate was the now famous 1918 Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education in which seven area of life for which education should prepare a student were identified: family life, work (careers), life in community and nation, leisure activities, ethical training, health, and command of fundamental skills needed for life in a modern society. We might agree looking back from 1986 that, in fact, the social studies school curriculum almost exactly covers the seven areas identified by the Cardinal Principles. Yet a further question, if the content of social studies should, in part, cover the general areas identified by the Cardinal Principles, then how should those areas be taught? (Barr etal. 1977).

2. Social Studies: The Early Years 1920-1950

As the meaning and purpose of social studies emerged, so did alternative views as to how social studies ought to be taught. Essentially there evolved three

perceptions on how to teach social studies: Social Studies Taught as Citizenship Transmission (CT); Social Studies Taught as Social Science (SS); and Social Studies Taught as Reflective Inquiry (RI). (Barr, Barth,Shermis 1977) (Barr, Barth,Shermis 1978). One view, Citizenship Transmission, favoured the continuing tradition of transmitting without critical evaluation in part or whole the culture and values of the community. This tradition sought to continue what had been the earlier practice of classroom teachers to inculcate and shape "right and proper" citizenship behavior. Other educators who had been brought up in the newly formed social science disciplines at the end of the nineteenth century thought that the social studies curriculum emphasize the methods, problems, and content of the social sciences. Those who favoured Teaching Social Studies as Social Science believed the social studies curriculum should act as a conduit for scientific social science content identified by authorities in the discipline. That content ought to affect the decision-making process of citizens.

One other perception was based essentially on John Dewey's notion of reflective thinking. The followers of Dewey perceived social studies as a curriculum based on an enquiry process in which students would identify significant social/personal problems and would be satisfying their needs and interests by practicing citizenship behaviour through a decision-making process. These followers of Dewey believed Social Studies should be taught as Reflective Inquiry.

The approach toward improving life, which is consistent with the Citizenship Transmission Tradition, is summaried by such terms as content centered classical, traditional; with the teachers' style characterized as didactic, formal, teacher centered; and the teachers' strategies centered about textbook

instruction, cognitive-memory and convergent questions, large group instruction, lecture and recitation with a classroom setting in which students are dependent on the teacher for the knowledge they will need to be educated.

The two competing approaches, including the Social Science and Reflective Inquiry Traditions, to improving lives through education is described in such terms as progressive, child-centered, experimental; with the style of teaching characterized as informal, student centered, indirect, open; and the teachers' strategies focused on a range of questions with emphasis on higher level thinking, small group instruction, use of media to construct interest centers with a class setting in which students select problems, and materials/activities to fit individual needs and interests. (DuBey, Barth 1980).

In summary, the field was created as a response to social forces that were changing the life styles including the culture and values of twentieth century men and women. Social studies from its creation was conceived as citizenship education, and did evolve as topical areas, i.e., Cardinal Principles, that conformed to the social crisis as perceived in the early twentieth century. How social studies should be taught to improve the lives of citizens evolved into three traditional perceptions each claiming to represent the true meaning and purpose of social studies education. The decision as to which of the three alternative teaching traditions best interprets the meaning and purpose of social studies originally designed to promote a democratic, problem-solving, decision-making citizen, has been left to the individual needs and interest of each country.

In Kenya, and around the world, the approach adopted by many social studies classroom teachers was Social Studies taught as Citizenship Transmission emphasizing subject centered, didactic style with lecture and recitation as the dominant technique of

instruction. Commenting on the era from 1900 to the 1950's, Howard Mehlinger, a leader in American social studies curriculum design, has written:

> before the dawn of the "new social studies", the field was characterized by massive narrative textbooks, choked with detailed information, and thoroughly sanitized so as to avoid controversy and to buttress conventional wisdom. (Mehlinger, 1974, p.66).

However, it is important to note that the Citizenship Transmission Tradition style and practice in schools was in direct conflict with the intellectual leaders who tended to favor either the Social Science or the Reflective Inquiry approach to teaching. That leadership from the early part of the century to the present is best represented by Shirley Engle, an advocate of the Reflective Inquiry Tradition, who expressed in 1960 the thoughts of the leadership in an influencial article entitled "Decision-Making: The Heart of Social Studies Instruction". In brief, the article set forth a foundation upon which the proceeding three decades (1960's, '70's and '80's) of social studies development would rest: social studies is effective citizenship; effective citizenship requires sound, thoughtful decisions; the curriculum and instruction should improve students' ability to make good decisions.

The leading social studies educators favored and promoted without measureable success the child centered, experimental, problem-solving, enquiry approach. Most of the social studies publications exhorted (classroom) teachers to abandon Citizenship Transmission and adopt either a Social Science or Reflective Inquiry Tradition.

3. New Social Studies Reform

For many different reasons, including social forces that reflected the mood of America, there was general

dissatisfaction with the traditional Transmission approach and as we shall see this dissatisfaction is as true in Kenya now as it was in America in the 1950's. By the late 1950's serious agitation for reform flowered into the "New Social Studies". (Barth 1977). This reform was to extend over the next two decades providing an impetus for social studies reform and development around the world.

The New Social Studies represented one of the cycles of reform that has characterized periodic changes in the social studies movement. Though the movement began in America as a response by educators to problems of modern and contemporary social living, industrialization, technology, urbanization, political centralization and specialization, those same problems were universal to contemporary and developing societies around the world.

4. The Social Studies Approach Adapted as a World Movement.

After world war II a very few countries that were part of the conflict adopted a social studies approach as an attempt to undo, in some cases, the authoritarian indoctrination of their prewar societies. The intent was to redirect students' attitudes to favor democratic decision-making. However, the most significant development for the social studies was the birth of emerging nations around the world. The move from colony to independent nation became a significant stimulus to widening the influence of the social studies movement. In particular the newly independent Commonwealth nations sought to identify a citizenship programme that responded to their individual needs. The social studies approach became a viable alternative to the traditional British citizenship system. The history of social studies born in crisis, developed in problem-solving, as a twentieth century reform, seemed to fit what many new nations such as Kenya identified

as being relevant to their experience. The social studies approach was flexible enough to offer each country their own way to citizenship education and nation building.

5. African Social Studies.

By the end of 1960's forces were building for a concentrated effort to organize and develop an African Social Studies curriculum. In 1967 the first regional conference to promote African Social Studies met at Queen's College, Oxford. That conference laid the foundation for the important Mombasa conference on African Social Studies in 1968. Participants including African educators from eleven countries pledged to cooperate on developing a new African curricula and promoting that development through a regional social studies secretariat. From a series of meetings in Nairobi and Kampala in 1969 a committee created by the Mombasa conference decided that the new Secretariat, to be known as the African Social Studies Programme (ASSP) would be established in Nairobi, Kenya. What is important about the conferences and the creation of the ASSP was that these were signs that a social studies approach was accepted by some emerging nations and that the New Social Studies reforms were to be emphasized but fashioned in an African context.

Many of the New Social Studies reforms were adopted and proclaimed as aims in the 1968 Mombasa Conference report. The report specifically identified four aims which, in brief, included: studying the environment as a whole, developing analysis and inference skills essential to forming sound judgement, acquisition of relevant information to personal development and appreciation of diversity and interdependence of all local, national and international communities. (Makinde 1979).

According to Makinde (1979, p.25) at the Mombasa conference,

> On the question of methodology, there was general agreement on adandoning the traditional ways of teaching which emphasized skills of recall and substituting them with new ways of learning designed primarily for developing the skills of independent problem-solving, questioning and critical thinking.

The conference aims were intended as general curriculum guidelines under which the seventeen ASSP members would develop their own social studies programmes. In short, the principle was established that each nation, in terms of its own culture and values was to help students develop to the limits of their ability by becoming independent thinkers and responsible citizens. Of course, this principle endorsed, without reservation, the Tradition of Social Studies taught as Reflective Inquiry.

6. The "New" New Social Studies.

The new social studies evolved through two phases. The early phase in the 1950's and '60's was championed by Jerome Bruner, clearly favouring teaching social studies as social science, who encouraged curriculum designers to identify the basic concepts that are the structure of social science and history disciplines. He stressed the enquiry and discovery methods as the most appropriate was to teach about and apply the basic relevant social science concepts in terms of the students' experiences. New Social Studies reform proponents such as historian Edwin Fenton, an early leader in the first phase, set forth three groups of objectives for social studies instruction. Briefly, the objectives were: knowledge, asking for recall or recognition of ideas or phenomena; abilities and skills which included finding appropriate information

and processing it through an inquiry mode; effective objectives aimed at developing attitudes and values appropriate to personal/social growth in a democracy (Fenton, 1966).

Just as Bruner, Fenton and other social scientists and historians were completing their "New"Social studies taught as social science materials in the mid to late 1960's the so-called second phase of the reform movement emerged. Forces other than those that guided the first New Social Studies reform now changed the priorities and in turn the direction of the New Social Studies to the "New" New Social Studies. This second phase of the reform featured more strongly the Reflective Inquiry Tradition which was based less on intellectual structures of academic disciplines in the social science and history and more on relevance to individual needs and interests and critical social problems set in problem-solving simulations and case studies. The new, new attitude of social studies curriculum designers which was to prevail throughout the 1970's was characterized by a concern for effective education as identified not by scholars from the disciplines but by the students themselves. Curriculum materials were based on specific social problems that emphasized among others, ecology, ethnic origins and culture, race relations, and war and peace studies. This second phase of the reform according to Mehlinger (1974 p.69):

> .....[aimed] at promoting students social self-fulfillment-- enhancing the capacity of individuals to influence and make decisions that yield positive results for themselves and for the groups in which they participate.

In retrospect the Kenyan experience with developing social studies curriculum, in part, recalls the two phases of the New Social Studies

reform in America. However, because many African nations adopted the social studies approach in the late 1960's and throughout the '70's, the most important influence was from the second phase or Reflective Inquiry Tradition of the reform. Many African educators who were to take leadership in forming the aims and objectives for their countries were completing advanced degrees in social studies education in America during the time of the second phase. The New Social Studies, as a process, as a reform movement, can be traced through the regional publications of the ASSP and in such different countries as Nigeria, Kenya, and Sierra Leone. (Muyanda-Mutebi, 1985; The Fundamentals of Effective Teaching in the Social Studies, 1980; The Nairobi Declaration of 1985; DuBey and Barth, 1980). For example, the Mombasa report is almost a total recall of aims and objectives identified by Edwin Fenton as components of the New Social Studies, and papers entitled "The New Social Studies in Africa" for an advanced training seminar in Ghana, 1975 (Adewole, 1975) suggest the extent of the influence from both the first and second phases of the reform.

7. The New Social Studies Reforms in Kenya.

Citizenship education in Kenya is evolving through three phases: (1) traditional African society, (2) colonial period, and (3) social studies education. The social studies approach was officially recommended as a reform of the colonial curriculum for Kenya in 1972 by the Bessy Commission. But one could argue that the foundations for citizenship education were, in fact, laid by traditional African societies. As we have previously mentioned, social studies emerges as a field of study when a traditional society begins to lose its power to instruct and inculcate the wisdom

and values it has held in the past. Citizenship training in a traditional African society was an integration of all the history, culture. and values of the family and tribe. Initiation into adult responsibilities, a form of Citizenship Transmission Tradition was a communal achievement, where the good citizen's goal was to fit into the traditional society.

With the coming of the colonial period citizenship education as it was known in the traditional society changed. Formal education, developed during the colonial period, prepared the "native" for a higher obligation beyond the village, the tribe, and the nation. This second phase of citizenship education fostered a concern and an obligation for the colonial empire. How was this accomplished? Citizenship directed at empire building by the colonial power introduces into the educational system separate subjects. History, culture and values separated into geography, western civilization and civics. These separate subjects were taught as concentrations on British history, western geography and civics responsibility based on western European traditions, all of which were intended to recall the glory of western civilization. Under this system of citizenship, textbook content itself was to be honoured, the fact that the content did not reflect the experience of Kenyans in their traditional societies, was essentially ignored.

Thus the recommendation of the Bessay Commission, that history and geography be combined and taught as social studies. However, the Bessay Commission was reacting to the demand for more relevant citizenship education that concentrated on Kenya's local and national history and geography as suggested by the Ominde Commission. The Commission recommended (1965) a revision by strengthening the syllabus in Kenya and

African studies, but, as observed by Ogula, the syllabuses produced in 1967 still placed emphasis on "Europe and activities of Europeans in Africa". (Ogula, 1984, p.23).

The Mombasa Conference, Ominde and Gessy Commissions stimulated thought about the social studies approach. The organization which grew out of the Mombasa Conference, the African Social Studies Programme (ASSP), influenced and assisted the Kenya Institute of Education (KIE) in 1971 to draft social studies materials that would be introduced and tested in Standards I-IV. (Menya & Muyanda-Mutebi, 1985). That experimental programme lasted four years, but it failed to continue for a variety of reason, not the least of which was the lack of experienced social studies educators who could take leadership in developing curriculum materials and retraining teachers. The Commissions, the Conferences, the KIE experimental programme along with social studies programmes at Kenyatta University College and diploma colleges were all efforts that have laid the foundation for the third phase of citizenship education in Kenya.

As of 1986 social studies is required of all primary schools in Kenya in Standards I-VIII, and in this same year the social studies approach will be introduced into primary teachers' colleges throughout the country. The third phase began with the introduction of social studies as a commitment by the KIE in 1978 to develop a relevant education to meet the needs of a majority of the children. The Primary Education Project (PEP) sponsored by the Institute piloted experimental curricula from 1981 to 1985 in 49 schools with sufficient success that the curricula is now extended to all primary schools throughout the country (Merryfield, 1985).

Why a Kenyan reform social studies to replace the colonial model, what benefits should eventually be realized by this third phase? Keep in mind that most

Kenyan teachers prepared in the second phase stressing different values favoring Citizenship Transmission Tradition do not find much to recommend the social studies approach, because, in part, the curriculum had a limited introduction, the Ministry has not backed the program, and the new approach would require retraining in methods and a change in attitude. The benefits are characterized as contrasts to the separate subjects approach which research studies in 1980 and '82 claim have failed to be relevant or motivating. (Ogula, 1982; Shiundu, 1980). The positive benefits of social studies emphasize the holistic integration of nation building content around relevant issues and topics, i.e., environment, population, attention to attitudes, values, and skills of problem-solving including the process of scientific (enquiry) method. The social studies developmental curriculum is organized on the concept of an expanding spiral with the use of immediate community and other national and regional cultural resources to stimulate interest and understanding on the issues and topics that are the content of the curriculum. A final benefit, Kenyan social studies will more closely model the traditional society approach to good citizenship in that the history, culture and values are integrated and honoured as a worthy study.

Future developments in Kenya citizenship education will undoubtedly strengthen and extend the social studies approach because the separate subjects approach is already discarded at many institutions of higher learning around the world. Specialization is no longer cut along the lines of academic disciplines but in terms of issues, topics and patterns: population, environment, peace studies which are multidimensional. In short, present trends on organizing content support a social studies approach. The social forces that demand education for "all" children, not just the 20%

elete, also provides a social foundation for school social studies curriculum that will become general education for all. The social forces, i.e., industrialization, individualism, specialization, democracy, that impel a country to adopt social studies will continue to force the introduction of this field into Kenya's educational system beyond the primary level.

Strong opposition to this third Phase will continue in Kenya. Public school teachers of history, geography, civics and other social sciences will continue for generations to favor the discreet separation of these courses. However, as the present and future teachers come to understand that they represent a phase of citizenship education based on a colonial model that though honoured in some cultures is already obsolete in learned contemporary societies, they will tend to be more sympathetic to the benefits of a social studies curriculum. In the years ahead the development of the primary school social studies curriculum with accompanying activities and materials including inservice to reinforce proper methods and attitudes will find the Reflective Inquiry Tradition slowly adopted throughout the entire school system. A decade will pass before a substantial impact is felt from the social studies training now required in primary teachers' colleges.

Now that the social studies approach has been adopted at the primary level, and for all primary Teachers' Colleges, the curriculum if it is to continue to evolve as uniquely Kenyan will need a strong active leadership from social studies educators who should set the guidelines for the construction of appropriate training and materials. Kenya, if it follows the experiences of other countries that have adopted social studies, i.e., Nigeria, America, Japan, will need strong leadership from the Ministry and a centre where a cadre

of highly trained social studies educators can generate the professional support that is necessary to sustain development. Often such a cadre coaleses at a university, or an institute of education. In short the movement needs focus and direction and these are achieved through an articulate, energetic group of leaders who prepare the way with the support of the Ministry for action. The task ahead is to produce a Kenyan social studies that reflect the conventional wisdom of its people. Finally Kenyan social studies, as it has in the past, will continue to be influenced by world trends. It is to the worldwide development of social studies that we must turn for additional insight into future cycles and patterns.

8. Beyond the New Social Studies Reforms: The Future

The modern foundations for the reform set forth by Shrley Engle, Bruner, Fenton and many other social studies educators remain to this day, but the curricula, activities and materials that were called the New Social Studies have disappeared in America. In part the explanation is that social studies classroom teachers who remained committed to the Citizenship Transmission Tradition never actually adopted the reform materials, and in those cases where materials were adopted they were discarded within three years of national publication. By the late '70's and early '80's teachers and textbook publisher had returned to the "massive narrative textbooks, choked with detailed information, and thoroughly sanitized so as to avoid controversy and to buttress conventional wisdom". (Mehlinger, 1974, p.66). Once again the cycle had come full circle representing a shift in mood toward a more conservative Citizenship Transmission approach.

What lessons can be drawn from the reform movements which seem to cycle through the social studies and further what might those lessons suggest about future patterns in Kenya as elsewhere around the world? Some tentative lessons that suggest themselves are the most obvious. The intellectual leadership which is reform minded is constantly agitating for a Social Science or Reflective Inquiry social studies Tradition that is not now nor has ever been a regular part of the typical social studies classroom teachers lessons. Periods of reform are followed by return to traditional instruction. But this is not to say that the reforms are without effect. Each reform cycle, which reoccurs approximately every fifteen years seems to involve more teacher around the world and the cycles are lasting over longer periods of time.

Social studies curriculum reflects the forces in society and responds to the needs of the country. The cycles are triggered by shifts in the public's attitudes about social problems.

The long tradition of Citizenship Transmission that traces its origins to the beginning of recorded history dominates instruction most everywhere in the world. The insistence of reformers usually the teacher trainers, that alternative traditions are viable has at least raised serious questions about traditional practices. It is not unthinkable that by the early part of the twenty-first century social studies instruction in the classroom will be dominated by the Reflective Inquiry Tradition. The 1980's show a pattern of thought, and curriculum development that points to a future cycle that might establish Reflective Inquiry as the dominate tradition in social studies.

By the mid-1980's a residue from the second phase of the New Social Studies found substantial interest among most nations on specific topics such as population and environmental/ecology studies approach. This approach is a reflection of a growing sophistication in the design of social studies materials that encourages students to perceive the world as a ecological system that is not likely to prosper or continue unless all people and cultures are included in solutions to problems. In short, local problems have been internationalized. The global approach has helped focus attention on intercultural and comparative studies, increasing students knowledge about ethnic and racial diversity with emphasis on the positive contributions of co-operative action and the value of diversity, all of which tend to find favorable response in many of Kenya's social studies educators.

Interest in developing global perspectives and intercultural studies has stimulated an increased concern for interdisciplinary studies that encourage a broad application of information from the social sciences and humanities which signals a return to emphasis on integrated content. One other development in the 1980's centers on future studies, a reflection of concern for not only the past and present but for the future. The interest in future studies is also closely linked with global perspectives, intercultural, comparative and interdisciplinary studies.

In short, if the above concerns continue to develop, assuming the forces in the world permit such growth, then the next twenty years are likely to feature a social studies approach that aims at a more universal global approach and less provincial study of man and his past, present, and future. All of the above traditions and patterns that are residue from continuous cycles of

reform over the past seventy-five years are consistent with the tradition of those who believe that the social studies approach is a process and should be taught according to the Tradition of Reflective Inquiry. The future, assuming all the cycles and patterns of social studies development continue along the present lines of thought, should yield in the twenty-first century what the world desparately needs, a citizen enquirer.

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